25 October 1979

REPORT ON RECENT EVENTS AND OUR PLANS

by the Director of the PAC
(As passed by the U.S. PAC National Cabinet, October 1979)

Dear friend:

This letter provides important information on the current activities and the ideological stance of the PAC in recent months. The PAC is approaching a crucial juncture in its work. Because of your involvement in the PAC, we have decided to provide you with an opportunity to participate in a steering committee meeting to be held on the organization of an abolitionist movement. The following report on our work at the Libertarian Party National Convention in Los Angeles will clarify the context for our proposed actions.

Report on PAC Activities at the LP National Convention in Los Angeles, 1979

During the past year it has become increasingly evident to us that the PAC ideological stance was far ahead of the movement and superior in its consistency to anything published. In fact, the abandonment of ethics by Murray N. Rothbard and the new pragmatism of the Cato - SLS wing which now dominates the LP clearly demonstrated the contradictions of the ecumenist and reformist positions. Our analysis of the inherent problems of these tendencies has been generally correct. The movement, although growing as a result of objective political-economic conditions, is falling apart because of its lack of well-focussed and consistent political ideology. Clear evidence of the cowardice and incompetence of leading libertarian political organs came when (so-called) Frontlines rescinded its offer to publish an eleven-hundred word essay on revolutionary anarcho-capitalism. More stunning was the appearance of a garbled paraphrasing of our work in Versus State in Vanguard, the organ of the so-called Radical Caucus of the Libertarian Party.

Although our work had been held up by the burdens of amassing capital for our new facility and the task of moving, by August we were once again ready to deliver a decisive stroke against the dishonest imposters who now control the LP and the movement. PAC supporters in several delegations - particularly the Alaska and Idaho state caucuses - spearheaded our position at the LP National Convention. This, of course, greatly surprised our antagonists. Indeed, we had no practical hope of passing the several planks and amendments we had developed (refer to enclosures), but we wanted to expose the LP for what it is - a tool of conservatism and a definitively non-abolitionist organization. Of course, we also wanted to get our views to as many persons as possible. Thus, thousands of pieces of literature were

distributed at the convention. Copies were also sent to local and national media so as to out-flank the LP apparat. Our materials were snapped up and kept by the participants - not one sheet went to waste. A considerable number of delegates expressed strong favor with our views which were the only ones of their kind. The effectiveness of our literature is shown in part by the post-convention flow of enthusiastic responses to our positions. One delegate from Illinois who did not read our materials until arriving home, expressed that our literature had finally "crystallized" his views on those issues. The PAC was the only organization openly articulating abolitionist, self-defense against the State and deprohibitionist fraud planks.

Beyond our wildest expectations, the so-called "Radical Caucus" of the LP (RCLP) showed itself to be totally disorganized, ineffective, inconsistent and afflicted by the most grotesque of ideological cowardice. PAC delegates attending a meeting of the RCLP at the LP Convention were astounded to hear their proposal for an abolitionist plank called "counter-revolutionary". This organization has the nerve to imply that it opposes "timidity, reformism, and gradualism"*! No support could be gained from these so-called "radicals". Their fear, according to Justin Raimondo (member of the RCLP "Central Committee") was that bringing up the abolitionist plank might "cause divisiveness over the anarchy-minarchy question". When one of our delegates announced to this meeting of the Radical Caucus that abolition was all necessary to any consistent libertarian political platform, M.N. Rothbard declared that he had never heard of our proposals - as if that in itself was sufficient to end the discussion. He was strongly and correctly rebutted by Rodney S. Colver of Alaska who said that as long as the Party maintains its front as limiting the State, it will never amount to anything more than an offshoot of the conservative movement.

The palpable dishonesty and cowardice of the Radical Caucus failed to win it any favor with their conservative antagonists who dominated the convention along with the Cato-SLS pragmatists. The RCLP lost every race for the LP National Committee and failed completely in its motions on the floor. Rothbard, who once enjoyed enormous popularity, came in fourteen among seventeen contenders. Thus, in spite of its considerable resources, and a willingness to lick the boots of the conservatives, the radical opportunists were firmly kicked into the ideological rubbish heap by a convention intent on securing favorable election returns at any cost! Indeed, it was poetic justice! Ecumenical opportunism and ideological treachery begot conservative opportunism and scorn.

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* In a letter signed by no less than Murray N. Rothbard, he talks glibly of a "revolutionary perspective" and a "unique strategic vision".

Of course, this was not surprising to us. Rothbard, who had willingly played the game of left opportunist on issues of foreign policy to curry favor with the left intelligentsia, was discarded as soon as the Cato-Students for a Libertarian Society-Libertarian Review clique was through with him. Their petroleum-lobby opportunism required by kingpin Koch demanded that the LP and the movement be harnessed to the anti-nuclear hysteria. Instead of merely opposing the Price-Anderson Act which limits insurance liability for nuclear accidents and other forms of government subsidization, the Cato-SLS-LR forces led by Milton Mueller and Roy Childs were now sponsoring a plank condemning nuclear power (private or public) for "random murder".

Thus, the main direction of the LP Convention confirmed our basest suspicions that the Party has become a tool for petro-lobby forces and a spawn of reactionary politicos of all kinds. It would not surprise us to find that the LP is a creation of the FBI or CIA or some government agency to divert anti-statist tendencies into a harmless direction. No surprise, thus, that a Clark (Cato nominee) -Koch (petrol-tycoon) ticket was stagemanaged to quick victory!

Most of our friends at the LP National Convention still do not fully grasp the contradictions and their implications for this movement. They still believe, as we once did, that the LP can move effectively towards dismantling the State without a clearly defined program and platform. They still believe that it is necessary for abolitionists to bow in silence to the inconsistent babblings of minarchists and other conservatives and now the wafflings of the "radicals". One thing has changed, however, for the first time they heard a clearly defended challenge to the lie of reformism. Our planks and their supportive arguments clearly expressed on single-page leaflets, were sent to the heart of the conservative statist organism - National Review (and we will send them to left-wing organs as well). The world will begin to know that there is a new phase beginning - not merely libertarianism - but the abolition of slavery!

At this point you may be wondering what comes next or what can come next. We readily admit that the PAC is miniscule and obscure. Our "action" so far has not won elections or even run candidates. Aside from our campaigns against Initiative 335 and our MERIT work against Affirmative Action we have not been politically active in the orthodox sense. We make no apology for this. In fact, looking back it would have been better not to have invested so heavily in PAC II and MERIT. Rather we should have pushed ahead purely in the ideological-intellectual area. All other action was premature and largely a waste of resources. Much of the motivation for those actions came from the vague desire to "act". This tendency was reinforced by the hotheaded demands of early PAC members for instant growth and activity. Ironically, these selfsame people often failed to perform their duties and abandoned the PAC as it became authentically active. In any case, none of this was crucial - it only retarded our evolution.

The most important accomplishments of the PAC have all been ideological

and intellectual. This is exactly the only work we could and should have performed. The Northwest Radical Anarcho-capitalist Conference was an important action in establishing the early ideology of revolutionary abolitionism. The publication of Versus State and its positions on the Warrior Psychology, the doctrine of Retaliatory Recapture and the criticisms of the libertarian ideology are still far ahead of their time. So far ahead, in fact, that the Radical Caucus is just beginning to say what we were saying two years ago. Our greatest product was ideas and their correct expression. As an example, our basically successful attempt to pass a "Children's Rights" plank at the 1977 National Convention stunned the reactionaries and left with many libertarians a lasting memory of our sincere radicalism. Because of our pioneer efforts, "youth rights" can never be overlooked by the Party again.

In spite of all this, we have arrived at a point where the Political Action Caucus is no longer a valid idea. It grew out of the intense local struggle for control over the LP of Washington State. It has taken us two years to realize that "political action" was a poor idea - one which resulted from the middle class desire to emulate the power-politics of the conventional party structure.

At this point, we see the central path of the struggle as centering on the question of abolition of the State. Abolitionism is the ideological litmus test of anti-statist sincerity and efficacy. It is going to become the central theme of revolutionary struggle from hereon. There is no possible evasion of this question - those who do will eventually fail. The spread of rational egoism, atheism and anti-statism leads to the destabilization of the state and its breakup to its smallest component - individual sovereignty. Our ideas are the beginning of a self-conscious abolitionist movement. It had to come eventually. It is an honor to ourselves that we are first.

The American Abolitionist Movement

In dissolving the Political Action Caucus, we call for the organizing of an entirely new movement - one which has not ever taken place in history prior to this. An abolitionist movement which demands the total elimination of the State differs from the libertarian movement and Party because it does not sidestep the main issue of abolition. It differs from previous efforts because it does not accept any program, platform or ideology which covers up the essentially different political trajectories of minimal statism and anarchism. It also differs from past "anarchism" in viewing the abolition of the State as a politically practical enterprise capable of being realized in our epoch.

Thus, we propose the formation of an American Abolitionist Movement with the aim to abolish the U.S. government and support efforts to abolish governments in other countries. Our early-stage work would include the development of a manifesto and program presenting our demands and proposals

for dissolving the State. Our work would stress global diffusion of our ideas with documents being circulated in several languages. Eventually, we would establish an international abolitionist party. A great deal of work could be done in this country to compell the Libertarian Party to support or deny abolitionism. Although this would aggravate divisions in the libertarian movement, it would shift the focus in public debate from nebulous reformism to the concretes of getting rid of the State in toto. Just as the "libertarian" movement split from the conservative Young Americans for Freedom just over a decade ago and grew to substantial size and influence, so now the abolitionist movement should split off, thus, adding the final phase in a progression of anti-statism.

It must be understood that an abolitionist movement is not only ideologically necessary to a consistent anti-statism, but politically necessary. The libertarian movement has become institutionalized within the stale apparatus of power. When so-called "radicals" are afraid to even discuss the final abolition of the State merely because it might offend some Party members, then it is clearly the evidence of an osteosis of conservative reaction in the Party. The LP cannot be expected to ever advocate anything but a mild reform of the State. Eventually, even that will pass as elected libertarians become ever more enmeshed in defending their reformed government. There may even come a time when these erstwhile "radicals" will support repression of abolitionists to avoid "disturbing" a compromise concensus between archists and "libertarians". If they can already rationalize censoring our views from libertarian publications and from an effective hearing in the Party, then what can we expect in years hence when they have "positions of responsibility" to protect. Indeed, these already rapidly calcifying "radicals" will have nothing new to say about the problems of the State. In fact, they have said nothing significantly new in years.

Instead of discussing the strategy and mechanics of abolition, they spend their time publishing books defending pimps and blackmailers. Instead of investigating the actual attitudes and conditions of working people in different regions, they publish endless disquisitions on the faultiness of Keynes and his followers. Thus, ideological work is that of comfortably ensconced elitist snobs for the interests of other bourgeois snobs. Of course, we must recognize that even these people represent a substantial improvement over the petty-egoist Randian minarchists who were dominent in the sixties and early seventies. But it was only through a constant dialectical process that a new wave of radicalism surmounted the earlier more conservative tide.

Thus, politically we will have to cut a new radical abolitionist path unhampered by conservatives and timid "radicals". We can prove that the State is entirely no good. Just as the idea of dismantling public education which was "too extreme" just a decade ago is now becoming popular in California, the idea of abolishing the State will become generally respectable not too distantly. At one time negro bondage was the natural order of things and Thomas Paine was a radical for opposing it, but the abolitionist movement made it into a reality. We can and must do it too.

This is our world-historical task. If Dr. Rothbard and his friends are satisfied with midwifing big organizations for their own sake, then so be it. They can have their toy but we must go on to the abolition of the State.

We propose, thus, to do the following things. Our first step will be to establish a steering committee to outline a proposal for the American Abolitionist Movement. We would like to convene this before the end of 1979. At this meeting we should choose the general organization type for the AAM. The organization form chosen shall probably be as loose as possible so as to permit a broad intellectual front to arise. Eventually, the AAM would give birth to a more disciplined party structure to carry-out the specific ideological program developed from the interface of all abolitionist forces.

This steering committee's primary task would be to prepare the way for a plenary session convening all known abolitionists from this hemisphere. At that point we could hammer-out an international program to present to the world.

The following is a proposed agenda for the December 30, 1979 steering committee meeting:

1. The present disposition of the libertarian movement.
2. The mechanics of an abolitionist movement.
3. The organizational format for the movement.
4. Preparations for convening a national plenary session of the AAM.
5. Establishing an interim committee for the study of legal questions affecting the AAM.

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The meeting will convene at 1:00pm sharp on Sunday, December 30, 1979 at 11520 Dayton Avenue North, Seattle, Washington and will be chaired by PAC Director Richard R. Slomon. The meeting will close at 5:00pm. No entry fees will be charged but contributions are welcomed. No tape recordings will be permitted. You may phone (206) 367-1168 for further information.

Vanquish the State,

Richard R. Slomon

Richard R. Slomon
The PAC U.S. Director